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778 The sacred ones are used only during the great ceremonies, usually the
103 Narra for the great majority of totems. It is then that all the wells of a moiety and the names of its dead ancestors are called out by the leader.
[562] The camp name is the one known by both men and women. No woman knows the sacred name of a well, or, for that matter, anything else that has to do with the sacred tribal life.

103 The list on page 46 shows that the chief totem of the Liaalaomir
778 clan is a carpet snake. The names of the well are carpet snake's nose
614 and menstruation blood, the latter referring indirectly to the actions of the snake.

The Djirin clan has the shark for a totem (see list, page 45), and the following names for its well: shark's head, ripples from a shark's swimming, hill from a tidal wave made by the shark when he created this country.

Although the well names refer to a totem which belongs to the other clans in the moiety, they also refer in particular to geographical aspects of one clan's territory, so that they have local significance. The same is true of the names of the mythological ancestors.

●553 A man's name is taken from his male mari (mother's mother's brother) and his male marikmo (father's father). All sacred names are his marikmo's and not his mari's, but a man's camp names come chiefly from his mari; these latter also usually reflect totemic affiliation.

[778 The symbol of the well is also painted on a man after his initiation
302] and when he receives his totemic name in the Narra corroboree, and on a small boy when he is to be circumcised.

601 In addition to the relatives listed on page 16 as always included in
614 the clan, there may be included within the clan: mari, male and female (mother's mother and mother's mother's brother); mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter); marelker (mother's mother's brother's son); kutara, male and female (sister's daughter's son and sister's daughter's daughter); gurrong, male and female (father's sister's daughter's son and father's sister's daughter's daughter).

601 These relatives, too, may be blood or tribal in their relationship to
611 ego. Men, for example, may be called brothers by ego and be clan members only remotely related to ego. The usual Murngin method of reckoning kin does not always operate within the clan, for, when there have been wrong marriages,[12] the practice of tracing descent through the mother and ignoring the father does not function. This

[12] See pages 105-106.

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reason for this suspicion is that nati and kaminyer mielk are frequently lovers just as momo and kaminyer diramo are. It must be emphasized that they are not near relatives.

Nati takes a special interest in kaminyer diramo as a child; he and mari correct his manners and regulate his conduct more than any other relative does.

Nati is important not so much in direct relationship as indirectly. His marriage to mari mielk makes the relationship between nati and kaminyer much more important because mari mielk assumes a prominent place in a man's or woman's life. The fact that nati is the father of gawel and arndi also increases his importance.

Momo ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (father's mother ⟷ daughter's child)

Momo is of little direct influence in the life of kaminyer. She is frequently a sweetheart of his. This is of course not his father's mother, or any of her sisters or clan members, but a woman who stands in this tribal relation to him.

She carries the bones of a dead man, but it does not matter to his relatives or herself whether she does so, for the emotional and social bond is of too little consequence. She sometimes helps build kaminyer's first house when gawel gives him his daughter.

Mari ⟷ *Kutara* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother, mother's mother's brother ⟷ woman's daughter's child, sister's daughter's child)

There are four types of reciprocals in this group of mari and kutara, both terms being used for both sexes. We shall first consider mari diramo and kutara diramo.

Mari is ego's mother's mother's brother, and kutara is sister's daughter's son. There are other mari and kutara, but they have been built out of this fundamental relationship. The mari-kutara behavior is one of the most interesting reciprocals in the whole of this kinship system. The relationship is very close and has a considerable emotional quality to it.

Personal names are greatly treasured by the Murngin, and both men and women receive them from their mari, such names being more important in daily life than those obtained from a marikmo. Besides the ordinary personal names given by a mari, one also obtains any nickname that might have been given to mari through some peculiar circumstance in the latter's life. The boy's father decides what names

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602 553 shall be given, which means that the father chooses the names from his marelker.

Kutara and mari always come to each other's assistance in times of 602 danger. When a camp quarrel is being aired kutara invariably stands at mari's side. If one of them is killed the other will aid the avenging party. A black magician's tales of his killings speak of a mari who had lost his kutara in a spear fight and had come to the magician [454] for aid to buy back his kutara's life. The sorcerer slew the kutara's killer by magic, and the mari paid for it with many handsome gifts.

[431] Presents are always being exchanged between kutara and mari. When ranga string is being given away after some of the big ceremonies, mari and kutara are always prominent in the exchanges.

715 When kutara dies mari's spirit always comes for him, along with marikmo's. If the deceased was a young man, the dead mari's spirit condemns his relatives for not giving the child better treatment and for not preventing his death. They always explain to his mari's spirit that they have done all they could to keep him alive. Mari helps marikmo's spirit take the dead soul back to its totemic water hole and helps protect it against the evil ghosts who try to steal kutara's soul. So, in death as in life, mari is kutara's protector and guide. In [853] the Djungguan circumcision ceremony mari's totemic name is always called out by his kutara, as is marikmo's, and it is believed that the spirit of mari appears at that time, although it is not seen.

602 [867] Mari is usually the person who really teaches kutara his manners. Mari is powerful not only because of his direct relationship with kutara, but also indirectly, for he is father of mokul (mother-in-law) and marelker (mokul's brother); he is marelker to kutara's bapa, and wawa or yukiyuko to mari mielk, who is mother to kutara's gawel.

602 606 The fact that mari is father to kutara's mokul, the woman with the strongest taboos around her and one who is very important to kutara, gives kutara a strength he would not otherwise possess. He can force mokul to give her daughter to him if the mokul is unfair about it, since mari can put pressure not only on her but on her husband, who is gawel to kutara. Mari occupies, because of this relationship with kutara's gawel and mokul, one of the most powerful positions. A man's whole position, security and well-being demand that he have a number of wives and children; he must look to gawel and mokul for the fruition of his wishes; if his mari and he are on good terms, which nearly always holds true, his mari will force these two to help him. In other words, the relatives with whom ego is weakest are those with

602 431 553 My informants said that they had never known *tjukarŋo* to fight. So intimate is the bond that exists between these people that their social personalities are often closely identified, and men, but not women, who stand in this relationship may exchange personal names. When this occurs they also exchange all their personal possessions—spears, dilly bags (baskets), tomahawks and other *gerri*. The exchange of names may take place at any time and not merely on some special ceremonial occasion. It may be permanent; and the new name then passes to the *kutara* (sister's daughters), while my own *kutara* now takes my name—the name which 431 belonged formerly to my *tjukarŋo*. The chief feature of 602 this very special relationship appears to be the obligation to send presents, and to act as host and protector to the *tjukarŋo* when he is on a visit, or when danger threatens. [726] If a member of a *miriŋo* (war-making) party meets his *tjukarŋo* when on a raiding party he will enfold him in his arms to protect him from spears, and he will act also as protector to his wife and children.

An important feature of the *tjukarŋo* relationship is exchange of gifts and a sharing of possessions no matter how valuable. It is probable that this special relationship in which the reciprocal obligations to give are very strong, arose originally from some special feature of the kinship organisation.

But the relationship upon which the great ceremonial exchange cycle rests is, as stated on pages 67 and 68, called simply *kumur märnda*.[42] Men or women who apply the term *kumur märnda* to one another, normally stand in one of the following relationships:

[42] *Kumur*, lit. sternum, hence, breast, face or aspect; *märnda*, those two, hence literally, "face to face" or "breast to breast" those two.